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227 material as the modern forgeries. One of them has been figured by Beasley
324 (14, pl. 129)[11] as a ceremonial hook. There is no doubt that all these clumsy specimens are faked, but it is a matter of conjecture as to where the natives got the idea for making double hooks. No authentic double hooks are recorded and they were never mentioned as ornaments by the early voyagers. I am inclined to consider them modern products with no ethnological significance.

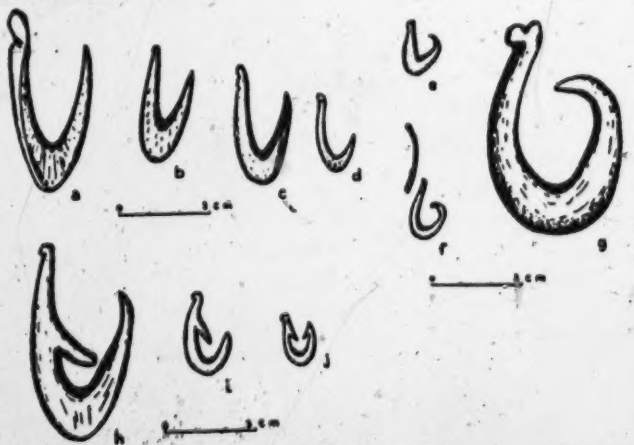

FIGURE 9.—One-piece bone fishhooks. *a-d*, V-shaped hooks with straight points (Trocadero Mus.): *a*, downward-slanting groove under knob, point slightly curved, 60 mm. long; *b*, shank tapering toward small knob, inside edge of bend sharp, 38 mm. long; *c*, knob lacking, snood held by two notches on back of shank, inside of bend shows traces of filing, 40 mm. long; *d*, short point widely diverging from shank, 25 mm. long. *e-g*, hooks with curved points: *e*, 18 mm. long (Trocadero Mus.); *f*, two notches on back of shank hold snood of 3-ply cord wrapped in tapa, 21 mm. long (B3525); *g*, modern hook of beef bone, knob divided like stone hook, point slightly twisted to side, 73 mm. long (B3525). *h-j*, barbed hooks (Trocadero Mus.): *h*, barb on shank almost touching point limb, possibly unfinished, 65 mm. long; *i*, 27 mm. long; *j*, double barb, 16 mm. long.

227 **Bone Hooks.** One-piece bone fishhooks (*mangai ivi*; very small ones,
● 321 *piko*)[12] are found in most of the shore caves used by fishermen as shelters in the old days. These caves were also workshops, as signified by the number of bones and unfinished or broken hooks that may be gathered in them. Formerly the fishhooks were made of human bones, man being the only

[11] Other faked fishhooks have been reproduced by Beasley (14, pls. 91, 179, 181) and Chauvet (45, fig. 69).

[12] Bone hooks from Easter Island are reproduced by Thomson (215, pl. 58, figs. 1, 2); Beasley (14, pls. 88, 92, 94, fig. 31, *a*); and Brown (27, pl. opposite p. 188, fig. 14).

Bone fishhooks are in the U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C.; the Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadéro, Paris; the Museum du Cinquantenaire, Bruxelles; the private collections of Beasley and Fuller, London; and in the collection of Stephan Chauvet, Paris.

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available mammal. According to tradition, the most suitable material was the bone of deceased fishermen (215, p. 537). This preference was of course based on belief in magic. Most specimens in Bishop Museum are of cattle bone, but they are recent and it is uncertain whether they were used or manufactured for trade. Whale bones may have supplied material for some fishhooks, for I know that modern natives have forged "ancient" hooks from the skeleton of a whale which had drifted ashore.

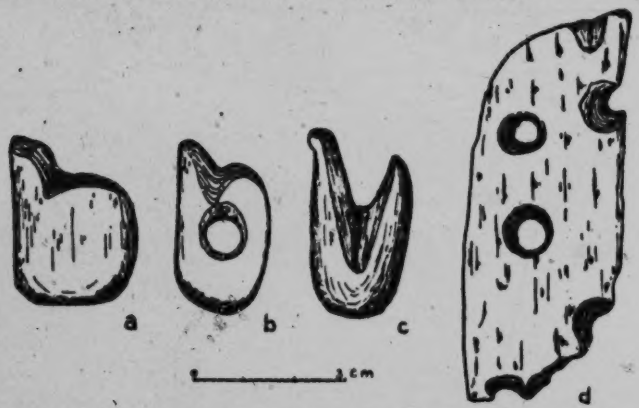

FIGURE 10.—One-piece bone fishhooks in process of manufacture (Trocadero Mus.): *a*, bone grooved at top, slightly smoothed on sides (30 mm. long, 25 mm. wide); *b*, material between shank and point limb removed by drilling (33 mm. long, 19 mm. wide); *c*, V-shaped hook made by notching upper edge of bone plate (38 mm. long, 18 mm. wide); *d*, piece of bone with drilled holes, probably intended for making hooks.

The method followed in making bone fishhooks (fig. 10) was like that for manufacturing stone hooks. Collections I made included samples of various stages in the manufacture of bone hooks from rough fragments of tibia with traces of cutting to the semi-ground specimens.

The general outline of the fishhook is cut in a piece of bone and then the interior is drilled out or notched. The final touch is given by grinding and by filing the edges. Short obsidian points (p. 166) may have been used on the drills. These points could not be handled without some sort of shaft, and their shape and size resemble the quarts or flint pieces attached to the spindle of Maori drills (100, p. 25).

The one-piece bone fishhooks present little variation in form, most of them being more or less V-shaped. The only features on which a classification can be established are the presence or absence of a barb and the form of the point which is straight or curved backward. A few one-piece bone hooks are circular.

The V-shaped hooks with straight point might have been formed by notching a piece of bone or by both drilling and notching. Hooks with a curved point were evidently drilled and then shaped.

Several fishhooks collected by me on Easter Island are barbed. The barb projects downward from the inner side of the shank. In one specimen (fig. 9, *f*) both shank and point are barbed.

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The shank ends in a backward-projecting knob which prevents the snood from sliding off. In a few specimens the end of the shank is sharp, the knob small and inconspicuous. Small notches on the back of the shank, under the knob, help secure the snood, especially when the knob is small or missing.

The one-piece fishhooks are usually small; I obtained some specimens only 17 mm. long. The largest one-piece fishhooks picked up in caves are rarely more than 80 mm. long; most of them are about 60 mm. long (fig. 9, *a*). Modern specimens, which are numerous in Bishop Museum collections, are longer and thicker (fig. 9, *g*).

Composite Hooks

Parts of composite hooks (*mangai verevere*) are frequently found by the natives in old caves (fig. 11, *d-e*). After a few days on Easter Island I had made a fairly good collection of shanks (*reke*) and points (*kainga*), but it was less easy to obtain a complete composite hook.

In the Bishop Museum there are two complete composite hooks. The larger (fig. 11, *a*) has an ancient, finely made, stone point attached to a modern wooden shank by stout cotton thread. The shape and proportions of shank are probably correct, as well as the method of binding. The proximal end of the shank is shaped like the corresponding part in the one-piece stone hook. The distal end has a groove at the back corresponding to the groove on the front of the stone point. Composite hooks of stone must have been rare; I know of only one and have been able to discover no fragment of stone which could be considered an element of a composite hook. Nevertheless there is no doubt as to the genuineness of the specimen. The smaller composite hook (fig. 11, *b*) has both shank and point of bone. The point is made of the human tibia, the shank suggests the human femur. The fine cord binding point to shank is of local manufacture. The lashing is too tight to be genuine, but it must have been somewhat similar in the old specimens. The string was wound first transversely, then vertically, again transversely, and once more vertically. The lashing conceals entirely the juncture of shank and point. The point base is wider than the limb; its inner edge is slanting and fits into a groove in the base of the shank. The distal end of the point base protrudes in a knob which facilitates the lashing. The distal end of the shank has a recess or a groove and sometimes a knob corresponding to the knob at the proximal end. The broken shank of a composite hook I found in a cave has a projecting barb similar to those of barbed single-piece hooks (fig. 9, *h-j*).

The composite fishhooks of the Fuller collection, reconstructed by the natives (14, pl. 93), bear hackles of horsehair. On other Polynesian islands, tufts of hair, representing the tail or fin of a fish, are added to the hooks to give more efficiency to the lure. If the device was not traditional in Easter Island, it may have resulted from contact with Tahitians. Charli Teao, the best fisherman on the island, told me that formerly the shank and the point were lashed with women's hair. His statement may be based on a vague reminiscence of the presence of a hackle of hair.

The lashing on a composite fishhook in the British Museum is covered with a piece of tapa. The lashing at the base of the hook in a specimen owned by Beasley (14, pl. 95) is made of strips of the outer bark of some plant.

Comparisons with other Polynesian Fishhooks

Bone and stone were apparently the only materials used for fishhooks on Easter Island. A wooden fishhook of *toro-miro* wood was made for me, but

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Tortoise-shell Belts

Formerly, "when there were kings in Easter Island," turtles were caught by the natives both for their meat and for their shell. Tradition tells that in olden days the men wore tortoise-shell belts (*honu-toro*). During my stay on the island I received from a native some tortoise-shell plates which had been found in a cave. They had small suspension holes.

These plates are of two forms. Most of them are ellipses and have holes in groups of two, set in a row along one edge (fig. 27, *c*, 1). Others are tongue-shaped with holes along the straight edge (fig. 27, *c*, 2). Of the first type the largest specimens are between 320 and 340 mm. long and 125 and 132 mm. wide. The smallest are 260 mm. long and 90 mm. wide. The plates of the second type are 170 to 180 mm. long and 73 mm. wide.

It is difficult to get a clear idea of the original appearance of the ornaments made from such plates. They are so long that it seems impractical to have them tied around the waist and the two forms do not combine. Since all definite information is lacking we are forced to accept the tradition and consider the plates as pieces of ceremonial belts.

Comparisons with Other Polynesian Ornaments

Deformation of the ear lobe to introduce wooden or bone plugs is restricted in Polynesia to Easter Island. The nearest parallel is found in the Marquesas where men and women used to wear in their ears heavy bone ornaments which distorted the lobes, but never to such an exaggerated size as on Easter Island (104, p. 288). In the Tuamotus the men pierced their ears to introduce ornaments but they never deformed their lobes. The Maoris must have had large holes in their ears in order to wear in them the objects mentioned by early observers. However, no reference has been made to an abnormal stretching of the lobe (20, vol. 2, pp. 535-540). Maori ear ornaments cannot well be compared to the plugs of Easter Island since most of them were pendants of bone or stone. Maoris, like Easter Islanders, occasionally wore strips or rolls of *aute* bark in their ears. The ear deformation of the Easter Islanders has been emphasized as a culture trait suggesting Melanesian affinity. Though enlargement of the ear occurs in Melanesia, it is not general and the Easter Island fashion may well have developed locally. The big ear plugs of the Marquesas are sufficiently close to the Easter Island ornaments to serve as an intermediate link between the custom of piercing the ear and of enlarging the lobe for insertion of pieces of wood or bone.

The oval plates of Easter Island, worn on cords round the neck, were substitutes for the whale teeth pendants common in other parts of Polynesia. The tongue-shaped neck ornaments resemble those worn by the Maoris in the time of Captain Cook (100, p. 20). The broken shell plaque (fig. 27, *b*) may be compared to the Marquesan plaques ground from the large end of a species of *Conus*. Linton (142, p. 428) attaches great importance to this ornament because it is rare in Polynesia but common in Micronesia. Since only one specimen is recorded from Easter Island, the parallel is of little significance.